

Message Text

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4371

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 1374

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: FIRST WORKING GROUP MEETING ON FOLLOW-UP

1. SUMMARY. AT FIRST MEETING OF WORKING GROUP ON FOLLOW-UP (WG), EASTERN AND NEUTRAL REPS STRONGLY FAVORED POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP. DESPITE EC-9 AND NATO AGREEMENT TO REMAIN SILENT, DANISH AND NORWEGIAN REPS EXPRESSED FAVORABLE POSITION, AND CHAIRMAN'S CONCLUSION WAS THAT THERE ALREADY IS WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP. ON THIS ASSUMPTION, PRESENT MOVEMENT IS TOWARD DISCUSSION OF PRACTICAL "MODALITIES" AT NEXT WG MEETING MARCH 7. END SUMMARY.

2. WORKING GROUP ON FOLLOW-UP (WG) HELD FIRST MEETING FEB 28. CZECH REP, SUPPORTED BY USSR AND POLAND, FORMALLY INTRODUCED EARLIER CZECH PAPER ON AN ADVISORY COMMITTEE (ALSO KNOWN AS "CONSULTATIVE" COMMITTEE). EASTERN STATEMENTS WERE IN GENERALLY FAMILIAR TERMS, ALTHOUGH SOVIET REP POINTEDLY STATED THAT, WHILE THERE SHOULD BE NO DUPLICATION OF EXISTING INSTITUTIONS, POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP COULD BE GIVEN "DEFINITE TASKS IN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELDS." THIS SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT, IN SOVIET VIEW, GENERAL FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITY COULD COVER, IN SOME LIMITED WAY, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE SUBJECTS OF BASKETS II (ECONOMICS) AND III (HUMANITARIAN

COOPERATION), AS WELL AS POLITICAL/SECURITY SUBJECTS OF BASKET I.

3. DESPITE AGREEMENT IN EC-9 AND NATO CAUCUS TO REMAIN SILENT DURING FIRST WG MEETING, DANISH REP MADE STATEMENT INDICATING DANES ASSUME SOME FORM OF POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP WILL BE SET-UP BY CSCE. DANISH STATEMENT WAS CLOSE TO EC-9 POSITION (GENEVA 694), BUT CONTAINED SOME IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES OF EMPHASIS (TEXT TRANSMITTED BELOW). NORWAY SUPPORTED DANISH APPROACH, STRESSING THEIR OPEN POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP.

4. NEUTRAL COUNTRY REPS (FINLAND, CYPRUS, SWITZERLAND, SPAIN, AND YUGOSLAVIA) ALL STRESSED STRONG DESIRE FOR ADEQUATE POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP TO CONTINUE MOMENTUM OF DETENTE. YUGOSLAVS STATED THEY ARE PREPARING FORMAL PROPOSALS ON THIS SUBJECT IN COOPERATION WITH SOME OTHER DELEGATIONS (FYI, WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED PRIVATELY THAT YUGOSLAVS ARE TRYING TO ENLIST 9 OTHER COUNTRIES AS CO-SPONSORS FOR THEIR PAPER ON FOLLOW-UP. OF THESE COUNTRIES, CYPRUS, SPAIN, FINLAND, LIECHTENSTEIN, MALTA, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, AND ROMANIA MAY AGREE TO CO-SPONSOR YUGOSLAV PAPER.)

5. SWISS CHAIRMAN OF MEETING, SUPPORTED STRONGLY BY ROMANIA, CONCLUDED MEETING HAD SHOWN WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP IN SOME FORM. MANY SPEAKERS HAD STRESSED RELATIVELY SMALL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CZECH AND DANISH CONCEPTS OF FOLLOW-UP, AND IT APPEARED THAT A COMPROMISE BRIDGING THESE DIFFERENCES COULD BE REACHED. CHAIRMAN SUGGESTED CONCENTRATING ON "MODALITIES" SUCH AS LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION, VENUE AND PERIODICITY, AND SUGGESTED LOOKING AT THESE MODALITIES AT NEXT WG MEETING MARCH 7.

6. COMMENT. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DANISH STATEMENT AND EC-9 POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP, COUPLED WITH SURPRISE PRESENTATION, DEMONSTRATES DIFFICULTY NINE ARE ALREADY HAVING IN MAINTAINING DISCIPLINE ON THIS ISSUE. DANISH INITIATIVE HAS PRECIPITATED EVEN FASTER MOVEMENT IN THIS AREA THAN WE HAD EXPECTED, AND A DISCUSSION OF MODALITIES IN ABSENCE OF CAUTIONARY INDICATIONS BY ANY DELEGATION MAY LEAD TO GEN-CONFIDENTIAL

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ERAL ASSUMPTION THAT IDEA OF POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP HAS BEEN ACCEPTED, AND COULD RESULT IN FIXING OF MODALITIES EARLIER THAN WE WOULD WISH. FRENCH HAVE INFORMED US PRIVATELY THAT THEY AND OTHERS AMONG NINE WILL TAKE SOMEWHAT MORE RESERVED POSITION THAN DANES AT NEXT MEETING, PRESUMABLY ALONG LINES OF EC-9 POSITION. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, WE WOULD PLAN TO TAKE FOLLOWING LINE AT WG MEETING MARCH 7: (A) OUR POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP HAS NOT

YET BEEN FINALIZED; (B) NEED FOR AND NATURE OF FOLLOW-UP
DEPENDS ON RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE; (C) WE ARE INTER-
ESTED IN HEARING THE VIEWS OF ALL PARTICIPATING STATES
BEFORE REACHING OUR CONCLUSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT;
(D) WHILE WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO DISCUSSIONS PROCEEDING,
WE WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO CONTRIBUTE AT AN EARLY
DATE, AND WILL RESERVE OUR POSITIONS ON NEED FOR FOLLOW-
UP, AS WELL AS MODALITIES, UNTIL RESULTS OF CONFERENC
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MATTER WITH OTHER DELEGATIONS IN ORDER TO ASCERTAIN THEIR
VIEWS. WE HAVE ARRIVED AT THE CONCLUSION THAT AMONG THE
PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE THE VIEW IS WIDELY SHARED
THAT THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS INITIATED BY THE CONFERENCE
ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE SHOULD BE PURSUED,
PROVIDED, OF COURSE, THAT SUCH PROGRESS IS MADE IN OUR
DELIBERATIONS THAT IT SEEMS WARRANTED. THIS PREREQUISITE
IS ALSO STATED IN PARAGRAPH 53 OF THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS
WHICH, AS A MATTER OF FACT, IN VERY FEW WORDS
GIVES US QUITE SUBSTANTIAL GUIDANCE. BECAUSE NOT ONLY
DOES IT LAY DOWN THAT THE BASIS FOR OUR DECISION IS THE
PROGRESS MADE AT THE CONFERENCE, BUT IT IS ALSO MADE
CLEAR THAT THE MEASURES WHICH WE WOULD PROPOSE, SHOULD
HAVE A TWOFOLD AIM: FIRST, TO GIVE EFFECT TO THE
DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE AND, SECOND, TO FURTHER
THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING SECURITY AND DEVELOPING CO-
OPERATION IN EUROPE. QUITE CLEARLY THE PROGRESS RE-
QUIRED IN PARAGRAPH 53 HAS NOT YET BEEN ACHIEVED, BUT
FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES WE TAKE AS OUR WORKING
HYPOTHESIS THAT IT WILL EVENTUALLY MATERIALIZE. FROM
THIS POINT OF DEPARTURE THE QUESTION IS, HOW TO ENSURE

ON THE BASIS OF THE GUIDANCE IN PARAGRAPH 53 THAT THE
MULTILATERAL PROCESS INITIATED BY OUR CONFERENCE BE
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PURSUED IN A MEANINGFUL WAY - MEANINGFUL IN RELATION
TO THE OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE, AND MEANINGFUL - AND
FEASIBLE - IN RELATION TO THE POLITICAL REALITIES AS
REFLECTED IN THE POLICIES AND KNOWN POSITIONS OF THE
STATES PARTICIPATING IN THIS CONFERENCE.

IN THE LIGHT OF THESE VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS IT COULD
BE ENVISAGED E.G. THAT THIS CONFERENCE DECIDE THAT WHEN
OUR WORK IS ACCOMPLISHED, AN INTERMEDIARY PERIOD SHOULD FOLLOW
BEFORE WE MEET AGAIN ON THE LEVEL OF HIGH OFFICIALS. AT
THE END OF THAT PERIOD SUCH A MEETING COULD TAKE PLACE
IN A GIVEN CITY WITH A VIEW TO EVALUATING THE IMPLEMENTA-
TION OF THE DECISIONS TAKEN BY OUR CONFERENCE AND THE
STATE OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SITUATION IN GENERAL.
SUCH A MEETING COULD, FURTHERMORE, AS APPROPRIATE IN THE
LIGHT OF THE EVALUATION OF THOSE TWO MAIN ELEMENTS,
SUBMIT PROPOSALS TO THE PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENTS ON
ADEQUATE MEASURES TO PURSUE THE AIMS SET BY OUR CONFERENCE.
THESE PROPOSALS COULD INCLUDE THE HOLDING OF FURTHER
MEETINGS OF HIGH OFFICIALS OR OF A NEW CONFERENCE.

QUITE CLEARLY, ANY NEW MEETING OR CONFERENCE
SHOULD APPLY THE RULE OF CONSENSUS, IT WOULD BE
SERVICED BY A TECHNICAL SECRETARIAT PROVIDED FOR BY THE
HOST GOVERNMENT ON AN AD HOC BASIS, AND THE COSTS WOULD
BE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE PARTICIPATING STATES.

AS YOU WILL UNDERSTAND, ONE MAIN ELEMENT IN OUR
CONSIDERATIONS IS THAT OF AN INTERMEDIARY PERIOD OF A
CERTAIN LENGTH. LONG ENOUGH TO DIGEST THE ACHIEVEMENTS
OF THIS CONFERENCE AND TO ASSESS THE DEGREE OF IMPLEMENTA-
TION OF ITS DECISIONS, BUT WITHOUT LOSING THE MOMENTUM
OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS WHICH HAS BEEN INITIATED. IN
OTHER WORDS, THE RAISON D'ETRE OF SUCH AN INTERMEDIARY
PERIOD WOULD BE TO ENABLE THE ENSUING MEETING OF HIGH
OFFICIALS TO FULFIL THE TASK ENTRUSTED TO IT IN A MEAN-
INGFUL WAY.

IT WOULD, HOWEVER, NOT IMPLY THAT NOTHING WOULD BE
HAPPENING IN THE MEANTIME AS A CONSEQUENCE OF OUR CONFER-
ENCE, AND VARIOUS DEVELOPMENTS WITH A VIEW TO FOLLOWING
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UP THE DECISIONS OF OUR CONFERENCE WOULD AT THE SAME TIME

PROVIDE ELEMENTS FOR AN APPRECIATION OF THE EXTENT OF IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS DECISIONS. IN THE FIRST PLACE THERE WOULD BE THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE PARTICIPATING STATES IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT THESE DECISIONS. FURTHERMORE - BUT DEPENDING UPON THE CONTENTS OF THE DECISIONS AT WHICH WE FINALLY ARRIVE AT AT OUR CONFERENCE - VARIOUS OTHER DEVELOPMENTS COULD BE FORESEEN, E.G. THE WORK UNDERTAKEN BY EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT TASKS ENTRUSTED TO THEM BY THE CONFERENCE, THE WAY IN WHICH SPECIALIZED BODIES SET UP BY THE CONFERENCE FOR PARTICULAR PURPOSES ARE WORKING, THE OUTCOME OF POSSIBLE MEETINGS OF EXPERTS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES TO DEAL WITH CERTAIN PARTICULAR MATTERS, THE PROGRESS OF NEGOTIATIONS DECIDED BY THE CONFERENCE TO BE CONDUCTED ON CERTAIN PARTICULAR SUBJECTS, ETC. ALL THIS IS, OF COURSE, AT THIS MOMENT HYPOTHETICAL, BUT SHOULD ILLUSTRATE THAT WE ENVISAGE A NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES IN THE INTERMEDIARY PERIOD - AND OTHERS MIGHT EMERGE FROM OUR DELIBERATIONS.

IN PRESENTING THESE VIEWS I HAVE IN A WAY ALSO MADE CLEAR THE POSITION OF MY GOVERNMENT AS FAR AS OUR POSITION TO THE PROPOSAL SUBMITTED BY CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS CONCERNED. YOU WILL REALIZE THAT OUR CONCEPT OF HOW TO ORGANIZE THE FOLLOW-UP TO THE CONFERENCE IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK DELEGATION.

I HAVE PRESENTED THESE VIEWS TODAY IN ORDER TO ASSIST IN PROVIDING AS BROAD A BASIS FOR OUR WORK AS POSSIBLE, BUT AS I HAVE SAID BEFORE, THE FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS THEMSELVES LAY DOWN THAT OUR DECISION SHOULD BE MADE ON THE BASIS OF THE PROGRESS MADE AT THE CONFERENCE. QUITE FRANKLY, I DO NOT THINK THAT THE CONFERENCE HAS UNTIL NOW MADE SUCH PROGRESS THAT ANYONE OF US WOULD WISH TO COMMIT THEMSELVES TO A FINAL POSITION. THIS CAN ONLY BE DONE IN THE LIGHT OF THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS AT THE CONFERENCE. WE CAN CONTINUE THE EXPLORATORY WORK WITH ITEM IV OF THE AGENDA IN PARALLEL WITH THE WORK ON THE FIRST THREE ITEMS, BUT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE OUTCOME OF THE DELIBERATION ON ITEM IV OF THE AGENDA AND A SOLUTION ALONG THE LINES WHICH I HAVE DESCRIBED IS DE-
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PENDENT UPON WHAT IS ACHIEVED UNDER ITEMS I, II, AND III OF THE AGENDA. END TEXT. DALE

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